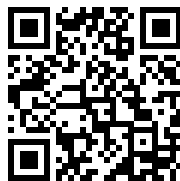


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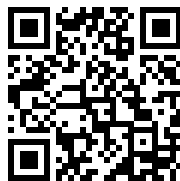


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**A Phonology**  
of the  
**North-Eastern Scotch Dialect.**  
Part I. The Middle Scotch vowels in the  
North-Eastern Scotch Dialect.

Inaugural-Dissertation  
zur  
Erlangung der Doktorwürde  
genehmigt  
von der philosophischen Fakultät  
der  
Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Bonn.

Von  
**Heinrich Mutschmann**  
aus Essen an der Ruhr.

Promoviert am 10. März 1909.

Bonn,  
Peter Hanstein, Verlagsbuchhandlung.



**Berichterstatter:**  
**Professor Dr. Bülbring.**

Mit Genehmigung der Fakultät kommt hier nur ein Teil der eingereichten Arbeit zum Abdruck. Die ganze Arbeit wird unter dem Titel »A Phonology of the North-Eastern Scotch Dialect« als erstes Heft der von Herrn Professor Bülbring herausgegebenen »Bonner Studien zur Englischen Philologie« im Verlage von P. Hanstein (Bonn) erscheinen.

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In dem hier fehlenden Teile der Arbeit wird die Entwicklung der mittelschottischen langen Vokale, Diphthonge und Konsonanten behandelt.

To  
my highly esteemed teacher

**Professor Dr. K. D. Bülbring,**

to whom for his kindly interest and help in my studies

I am under a deep debt of gratitude.



## Preface.

---

It gives me great pleasure to express, in this place, my sincere gratitude to all those by whose assistance I have profited in pursuing my studies, of which the following treatise is one of the results. To Professor H. C. Wyld, of the University of Liverpool, I am indebted not only for the idea of investigating the North-Eastern Scotch dialect, but also for instruction in phonetics and the philology of Modern Engl. speech. I am also indebted to the help and suggestions which the following gentlemen have always most willingly accorded me: Mr. F. T. Barret, Librarian of the Mitchell Library, Glasgow; Mr. Arundell J. K. Esdaile, of the British Museum; Mr. George Neilson, LL. D., Procurator Fiscal of Glasgow; the Rev. John Sephton, M. A., Honorary Reader in Icelandic, in the University of Liverpool.

In procuring the material from the living dialects, my friend Mr. William Grant, M. A., Lecturer in Phonetics in the University of Aberdeen, has given me most valuable assistance; he has obliged me not only by allowing me to record his own native pronunciation, but also by assisting me in my researches in the North-East.

I beg to take this opportunity of expressing my most respectful and sincere obligations to Professor K. D. Bülbring for the great kindness with which he has constantly encouraged and assisted me during the whole course of my studies.

For revising the MS. of this work, and giving many valuable hints with respect to the English text I wish to thank my friend A. R. Cavalier, of the University of Melbourne, Australia.

I must here express my indebtedness to Mr. H. C. A. Carpenter, B. A., Ph. D., for valuable help in revising the proof-sheets of this work.

Bitburg, i. d. Eifel.

**Heinrich Mutschmann.**





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\* \* All dialect words except those beginning a paragraph are preceded by a — .

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#### Abbreviations.

Scand.	= Scandinavian.
MSc.	= Middle Scotch.
eMSc.	= early MSc.
Mod. Sc.	= Modern Scotch.
Fr.	= French.
OFr.	= Old French.

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## I. Subject.

§ 1. The dialect dealt with on these pages is the one spoken in Ellis's North-Eastern Lowland division (D. 39), which is referred to as North-Eastern Scotch (ne. Sc.) by Professor Wright.

§ 2. The material upon which this treatise is based has been collected from various sources. I became acquainted with the subject for the first time in one of the classes on phonetics conducted by Professor Wyld at the University of Liverpool during the session of 1905—06. I then went over the classified lists of words given by Prof. Wright in his DGr. with my friend Mr. Grant, who being himself a native of the North of Scotland was particularly well acquainted with the dialect spoken near Portsoy on the coast of Banffshire, where he had spent a number of years at school. Besides the information collected thus and bearing only on that particular dialect, all the evidence given by Ellis, under D. 39, and Wright, as ne. Sc., was noted down, and the whole material arranged so as to present a fairly accurate account of the phonology of the modern dialect and its historical development.

Two years later, in August 1907, I went to the North of Scotland myself, and remained there until the beginning of October of the same year, in order to study the dialect on the spot. My own observations were made chiefly in the South of Aberdeenshire, on the banks of the river Dee (Deeside). I had, moreover, ample opportunity to listen to, and question, speakers from various other parts of the North-Eastern area whom I met in the course of my travels. The notes I made were added to and supplemented from the contents of a number of Prof. Wright's classified lists filled up with their respective

pronunciations by students of Mr. Grant of the Aberdeen U. F. C. Training College — these students being persons who had spoken the dialect of their native districts from childhood, and who having gone through a thorough training in phonetics were well qualified for such a task. In this fashion, I was furnished with a most valuable collection of the idioms as used in the different parts of the North-Eastern territory<sup>1</sup>).

Besides this, information was supplied by Mr. Grant as to pronunciations heard in other parts than Portsoy.

§ 3. Many of the returned pronunciations were merely corruptions of standard English, whereas on the other hand my collection did not contain the most valuable part of the dialect vocabulary, — that vast number of native forms that have almost completely passed out of common use with which we become acquainted through the medium of printed sources. Many genuine dialect words are practically never used in the presence of strangers, so that their existence and pronunciation can only be ascertained by putting direct questions as to their form and meaning. In this difficulty, the DD. proved of immense value, as it gives a large number of words that are no longer used by the people at large, in more or less unmistakable phonetic spelling. On the whole it was found that in that excellent collection, the sound-representation of (Scottish) dialect forms was quite reliable; and the same may be said of the works of Alexander and Watson. It is doubtless due to the neglect of such sources, and to the exclusive reliance on conversation actually observed that many important facts of Northumbrian sound-history have hitherto escaped notice. I have, however, had reason to be dissatisfied with the authority of the DD. transcription in some cases. Therefore, all the rare words enumerated in the following lists have through painstaking, and sometimes prolonged, inquiries been ascertained to be still used by the people in some part or other of the country. In many cases, I failed in my endeavours to trace a word or an expression given in the DD., so that for that reason numerous

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1) The principal representatives came from the following localities: Banff Parish; Waulkmill Farm, Elgin; Gateside, Forres; Burghead (fisher population); Kemnay, Sth Aberdeenshire; Maud, Aberdeenshire; Peterhead.

examples classified as of ne. Sc. origin are of necessity absent from my lists.

§ 4. To sum up, five main sources of information may be distinguished:

I. Forms taken down by myself:

- a) Portsoy pronunciation, from Mr. Grant's dictation;
- b) As heard and tested by myself in the South of Aberdeenshire;
- c) Casual observations of dialect speakers from various parts of the North-Eastern district;
- d) The pronunciation of rare dialect words found in books, and subsequently ascertained by means of particular inquiries.

II. Material sent in by Mr. Grant's students.

Also the evidence collected respectively by Prof. Wright in his DGr., and by Ellis (D. 39) has not been used unless corroborated by my own investigations.

§ 5. In compiling the phonology of the North-Eastern Scotch dialect, due attention has been paid to the geographical distribution of forms and words. Naturally, many differences prevail between the local dialects of D. 39; and wherever these were sufficiently distinctive and important they have been indicated. Genuine forms of many words were frequently recorded to survive in only one locality; in such cases, the sophisticated forms of more polite speech have been rejected. In this manner, I have got rid of an enormous mass of useless material, which it would have been folly to include in my lists as it can teach us nothing.

§ 6. It will have become clear from the preceding exposition, that in compiling this work I have deviated from the method employed by many other writers on modern English dialects, most of whom deal with the idiom of a single individual, or of a small locality. My original intention, it is true, was to confine my observations to a limited number of speakers, or to a single person. Experience with individual dialect speakers, and the very first impressions I received in the North-East of Scotland, however, soon taught me that taking that course, excellent as it might be from a theoretical point of view, was impracticable for my purpose.

The material I was able to procure by following the established method was absolutely inadequate and insufficient to serve as a basis for an exposition of the historical development of the modern dialect. As my principal endeavour was to offer this, I was obliged to employ a different method.

§ 7. The Scottish dialects of the present day are everywhere in a state of utter dissolution. Owing to well-known causes — the churches, the schools, the newspapers, the railways — this »corruption« of the native speech, as some like to call this natural process, has gone far towards the general establishment and acceptance of a standard language, which, however, — and this is worth noting — is not standard English, but »Polite Scotch« — the language of books and newspapers adapted to the Scottish idiom<sup>1</sup>). The result is that imported forms are pervading the speech of every one, and are replacing genuine words, so that only by piecing together all the information from so large an area as that of D. 39 was I able, while strictly excluding everything that did not appear genuine, to obtain sufficient material for a satisfactory description of the internal history of the Northern Scotch dialect. I am very well aware that this method of selection and reconstruction which I have employed, is open to certain objections. But after all, it is a matter of very small concern to us to know how the inhabitants, or a single inhabitant, of a certain locality speaks, unless that knowledge throw some light upon questions of more consequence and wider interest.

## II.

### Boundaries. — Vocabulary.

§ 8. The North-Eastern Scotch dialect is the most Northern form of English speech with a genuine development; for the English spoken further North, notably at Inverness and its neighbourhood is derived from the standard language

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1) See on this subject an article »A Vernacular Revival in Scotland«, *The Times*, Nov. 2nd, 1907; T. F. Henderson's essay on »The Vernacular of the Waverley Novels«, *The Glasgow Herald*, Sept. 5th, 1907; *Notes and Queries*, 10 S. VI p. 301 (Oct. 20th, 1906).



introduced at a comparatively recent period. The dialect evolved out of the language introduced from the Southern Lowlands by the settlers of Germanic origin who subdued and colonized these parts during the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries (DSCSc. p. 19). Its OE. basis, therefore, was the language spoken in the extreme North of the Northumbrian territory, of which only scanty remains are now extant, so that some of its peculiar features postulated by the results of modern dialect investigation cannot be verified from early MSS.

§ 9. The amount of Scandinavian loan-words is considerable; but I have made no attempt at exhausting the complete vocabulary of this region as found in printed sources. The North of Scotland was, from the very first time it appears in the light of history, the object of Scandinavian raids and settlements. And even when more peaceful days had come, and the Northern Lowlands were completely anglicized — in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, roughly speaking — the Scandinavian influence still continued, and was, moreover, supported by the inhabitants of the Northern groups of islands.

Attention must also be paid to possible Dutch influence, as there were large colonies of Flemings all over Scotland; but not much has as yet been ascertained with certainty on this point.

§ 10. Words of Anglo-French origin that are really native, i. e., not taken from standard English, are very few in number. The invasion — or rather intrusion — of Normans was not so considerable in Scotland as it was South of the border. As the majority of the foreign adventurers brought into the country by the Scottish kings were nobles, who did not settle among the lower classes, only a limited amount of their vocabulary passed into the spoken dialects.

Later on, the almost proverbial alliance which, for centuries, united the realms of France and Scotland, caused the introduction of elements that took their origin in continental French (cf., e. g., *Complaint of Scotland*, ed. Murray, EETS. ES. 17, XCVI—CVI; Francisque Michel has given a valuable list of such words in the index to his work; see Bibliography).

Latin words, too, are met with occasionally — owing,

no doubt — to the intense cultivation of classical learning which distinguished the early scholastic life of Scotland.

§ 11. The area of D. 39 having been won from a Celtic population by a comparatively small body of conquerors of Germanic descent, one can naturally expect the amount of Gaelic loan-words to be considerable. Indeed, a large number of words of evidently Celtic origin appears in the dictionaries (see DSCSc. p. 54). Very few of these have, however, passed into general use; the majority are only local, and were consequently not known to my correspondents. Apparently these were always felt not really to belong to the language proper, and were never completely adopted.

### III.

#### The MSc. Sound System.

§ 12. The following investigation starts from the basis of MSc., as it may be conjectured to have been about the year 1300. By that date, certain shortenings of long vowels, and the lengthening of the short ones in open syllables had been effected according to well-known rules. Besides those changes certain others seem to have taken place before 1300, which have hitherto been overlooked. It is true, the literary monuments of those times — if there be any — exhibit only faint traces of them, or none at all. But it should be borne in mind that the influence exercised on MSc. spelling and versification by tradition and the tendency to imitate English models cannot easily be overestimated (see, e. g., M. Förster, *Archiv* 119, 431). References to remarkable MSc. forms will be found throughout this treatise; nothing, however, like an exhaustive investigation of the MSc. texts has been aimed at. A great many of the examples are taken from the poems of Alexander Scott, whose genius and poetry were essentially Scotch, and therefore less subject to the influence of English, or the tradition of the literary language of his own country. How very little the rimes of the early epics can teach us is evident from the comparatively few new results of so painstaking and labourious an investigation as that of *Clariodus* by Dr. Curtis. As regards the MSc. prose works, two quota-

tions from Dr. Reeves's dissertation will suffice to show that little reliance is to be placed upon their spelling. »It would seem«, he says, »that late 16<sup>th</sup> cent. Scotch is hardly practicable matter for the grammarian« (p. 78); and again: »For Scottish prose of the 14<sup>th</sup>, 15<sup>th</sup>, and early 16<sup>th</sup> Centuries, it is hard to find any one characteristic or line of development« (p. 92).

#### IV.

##### An Early Scottish Sound-Law of »Vocalisation«.

§ 13. Before entering upon an historical treatment of the MSc. sounds singly, attention must be drawn to a curious »sound-law« which appears to have affected the vocabulary of many Northern British dialects. Although it has never before been formulated or even so much as hinted at, it will appear that its application explains a large number of etymologies hitherto obscure. In this chapter, only such examples will be dealt with as are found in the ne. Sc. dialect. A few forms taken from various other sources have been appended, in order to show the importance and geographical area of this sound-change.

§ 14. It is evident from the examples given in §§ 163 sqq. that the regular representative of MSc. *au* is *a*. This *a* is also found in certain words containing a MSc. *a* in a closed syllable, e. g. in — *dapr* 'daughter' (§ 72 d, note; § 168). Similarly, modern *au* which can only be derived from MSc. *ou* (§§ 172 sqq.), is found in — *ausn* 'oxen' (§ 177).

It is evident that in these two words, *h* or *k* has disappeared leaving an *u*, which formed a diphthong with the preceding vowel.

The same change must have taken place in — *dran* 'drown', Scand. *drukna* (§ 143), and — *busm* 'buxom' (ib.); here, too, the *k* turned into *u*, which was combined with the preceding *u*, MSc. *ū* being the result according to a rule illustrated by numerous words (§ 141 sqq.).

This phenomenon is, however, not confined to words containing a back vowel. The form — *hēn* 'to spare', from Scand. *hegna* (§ 155), shows that here the *g* turned into *i*, forming

a MSc. diphthong *ei* with the preceding vowel; this *ei* appears as *ē* in the modern dialect (§ 155).

If we try to explain this curious sound-change, of which more examples of a somewhat different nature will be given presently, it is useful to compare such forms as *kabtn* 'captain'; *babtist* 'baptist', found in the Northern British dialects (Wright DGr. § 275; see also Ekwall, Jones §§ 623—41!); *lobster* OE. *lupustre* NED. s. v., also belongs here (cf. also the proper name *Bagster*, a variant of *Baxter*; Bardsley, Dict. of Engl. and Welsh Surnames s. v.). In all these words a consonant has become voiced, although it is followed by a voiceless sound. This change is most probably due to a partial assimilation to the preceding vowel. If this process of assimilation was carried further, the consonant would become open; in other words, *k* would first become *g* (voiced stop), which turned into *z* after back-vowels, or *j* after front vowels. Similarly, *h* (i. e. *x*, or *ç*) would turn into *z* or *j* through being voiced. The *z* and *j* resulting in that fashion developed quite regularly into *u* or *i*.

§ 15. Starting from those cases, in which *u* or *i* has replaced a consonant, it is possible to explain a number of similar forms. The modern representatives of the MSc. diphthongs are found also in words which contain an original short vowel before certain long consonants. Thus we find:

1. *ā*, from MSc. *au* in: *babə* 'baby', OE. *\*babba*; — *bakə* 'bat' (animal) ME. *bakke*; — *kap* 'wooden bowl' OE. *cæppa*, etc., see § 168.

2. *au*, from MSc. *ou* in: *daug* 'dog'; — *haup* 'hops'; — *laup* 'louse' OE. *loppa*, etc., see § 177.

3. *ū*, from MSc. *u+u* in: *klub* 'club' Scand. *klubba*; — *skug* 'protection, shade' Scand. *skuggi*; — *sūm* 'swim' MSc. *\*swumme*, etc., see § 143.

4. *ē*, from MSc. *ei* in: *blek* 'to puzzle' Scand. *blekkja*; — *blek* 'to blacken' MSc. *blekkit* pp. BLA. 28. 33; — *drek* 'drench' Scand. *drekkja*; — *hek* 'rack, manger' OE. *\*hecc* Angl. 9. 265; etc., see § 155.

5. *æi*, from MSc. *ī*, from *i+i* in: *pæik* 'gather', 'pick' Scand. *pikka*; see § 93.

In all these words, the former half of the long conso-

nants *gg*, *kk*, *mm*, *bb*, *pp*, has turned into a vowel, *u*, or *i*, just as *k* before *s* in *ausn*, or *g* before *n* in *hēn*.

§ 16. We may, therefore, briefly state the facts thus: 1) The first half of a long labial or guttural consonant — *pp*, (*ff*), *bb*, *mm*, *kk*, *hh*, *gg* — and the same consonants — *p*, etc., if short and followed by another consonant, were changed into *u* after back-vowels; this *u* formed a diphthong with the preceding vowel — MSc. *au*, *ou*, *uu* > *ū*, — which developed regularly into Modern *ā*, *au*, *ū* respectively. 2) The first half of the long front consonants — *kk*, (*hh*), *gg* —, and the same consonants followed by another, were changed into *i* after front-vowels; this *i* formed a diphthong with the preceding vowel — MSc. *ei*, *ii* > *ī*, — which developed regularly into *ē*, (*æi*), *æi* respectively.

One exception to this rule should, however, be noted here. It appears that the sound-groups *aks* and *agg* did not yield *aus*, *aug*, as might be expected, but *eis*, *eig*, in — *es* 'ashes' MSc. \**akses* (§ 155), — *neg* 'nag'; — *kreg* 'crag' (ib.). This points to the conclusion that before those combinations, *a* was a front-vowel, being, most probably, sounded *æ*.

It is true that for all cases which would fall under the above rule examples have not been recorded. Thus, e. g., the change of *op* before *t* into *ou* has not been met with in any word so far. Seeing, however, that *oks* has become *ous* in — *ausn*, and that *opp* has become *oup* in — *laup*, we may safely conclude that *opt* would also have become *out*.

§ 17. Apparent exceptions. — There are a number of words exhibiting a similar development of MSc. diphthongs although at first sight they do not seem to agree with the rules just established. These are words which did not originally contain a long consonant, e. g. *kaupr* 'copper' OE. *copor*; — *haup* 'hope' OE. *hopa*; — *ākr* 'acre', etc. However, we cannot well separate these forms from those mentioned in §§ 13—16; but we are forced to make their development agree with the general rule. In other words, it is to be shown that a long consonant had developed in these words at the time of »vocalisation«, as I propose to call the sound-change under discussion.

This is not at all a difficult matter. Two different classes may be distinguished:

1. Dissyllabic words: *akr* 'acre' OE. *æcer*; — *kaupr* 'copper' OE. *copor*; and words of similar structure. Of these words, two varieties existed in MSc., viz. *acer*, *coper*, and the inflected cases, *acres*, *copres* (cf. Koeppel, Arch. 104. 55). In the first case, the *a*, or *o* would be lengthened as standing in an open syllable (*ekr* is actually found § 117); but in the inflected forms the consonants *k* or *p* closing a syllable after a short vowel, were lengthened (Trautmann, Angl. Anz. 7. 94), *akkres*, *coppres* being the results. This long *k* or *p* was subsequently introduced into the other type, producing *\*akker*, *copper*, the forms required.

The same change has taken place in OE. *sumor*; *\*summer* turned into *\*sūmer*; later on, the *ū* was shortened producing *ī* in — *sīmr*, the actual form (§ 144).

2. Monosyllabic words: *haup* 'hope', OE. *hopa*; this word must have entered the *a*-declension, before the OE. vowels in open syllables were lengthened (cf. Morsb. § 6 B 7), so that *\*hop*, inflected *hopes* would result. According to well-known rules, *\*hop* would have its final consonant lengthened in early ME., which might have been introduced into the inflected cases, too. In that fashion, *\*hopp*, *\*hoppes* may have arisen.

Similarly, *dapæt* pp., 'silly, stupid', Scand. *dapr*; and — *hauf* 'store-house' OE. *hof* may be explained. In both words, the consonant stood in a final position in certain forms, and consequently would undergo lengthening. The long consonant was subsequently introduced into the inflected forms.

Note: Scand. *dapr*, adj. first produced an adj. *\*dapp*, *\*daup*, which yielded a verb, from which a pp. *daupet* was derived. The pp. assumed an adjectival sense, as is very frequently the case in Scotch.

§ 18. It is, however, a surprising fact that there are almost innumerable exceptions to the rules stated, and that the number of words in which these are not followed, is by far the larger. By the side of — *ausn* 'oxen', we find — *okstr* 'armpit' § 63, — *saks* 'six' § 72 b, Note; — *aks* 'ask' § 72 a, etc.; — *dapr* 'daughter', is the only word in which the vocalisation of *h* before *t* has been recorded; there exist also

the pronunciations — *dq̄xtr* and — *daxtr*, all of which are used promiscuously in the same dialect, and by the same speaker (cf. Dr. Murray's transcription (*Buchan example*) of the 'First Chapter of the Book of Ruth', DSCSc. p. 242). The *h* was preserved intact in: — *dict* 'clean'; — *n̄ict* 'night' etc., § 48 c 1, 2; also in — *drq̄xt* 'drought' § 57; — *bq̄xt* 'bought' etc. § 63; — *draxt* 'draught'; — *slaxtr* 'slaughter', § 72 d, and many more. Besides, vocalisation did not take place in — *stq̄k* 'good-natured fellow' § 63; — *rag* 'pull', — *lag* 'ear'; — *dram* 'muddy' § 56 a, as compared to — *daug* 'dog', — *bak* 'back', — *brakn* 'bracken', — *hak* 'thatch'; — *t̄sifts* 'jaws' etc., § 72 a, occur along with — *bak* 'bat', MSc. *bakke* etc. An examination of the following lists will prove that the number of words which do not exhibit »vocalisation«, although the conditions of the rule are fulfilled, might easily be enlarged.

§ 19. This state of affairs can only be explained by assuming that the sound-change of »vocalisation« was restricted to certain parts of the country, where all those words falling under the rule were affected by it. Later on, the forms, changed and unchanged alike, became mixed through the intercourse of speakers from the different regions. In the course of time, the majority of forms containing the new diphthongs perished, and were supplanted by those which had remained unchanged. It is doubtless due to the influence of the standard speech that only a comparatively small number of modified forms survived; and the same reason accounts for their almost complete absence from the ME. and MSc. MSS.

§ 19. Geographical Extent. — Chronology.

The phenomenon of »vocalisation« is, as has already been remarked, not confined to D. 39, nor is it restricted to Scotland only. It has left its traces in the North of England, and even in the Midlands. A few instances from the Kendal (Westmoreland) dialect may be inserted here:

*krōk* 'die' (of animals) Kendal § 100, OE. *cracian* 'crack, quake', »crepare« (cf. *bōk* OE. *balc*; *stōk* 'stalk' ib. § 96);

*trāp* 'wander' Kendal § 69, OE. *træppan* (cf. ib. § 65);

*wāml* 'roll about' Kendal § 66, ME. *wamlin*, Scand. *vamla*, »aegre protrahere se humi ventre«;

*daup* 'hooded crow' Kendal § 120, OE. (*dufe-*) *doppa*;

*rauk* 'poke the fire' Kendal Gloss., OE. *roccian* (cf. ib. §§ 112—118; ME. *ou* > *au*).

In the standard language, we find *drown* introduced into the South before ME. *ū* had become a diphthong (see above); besides *maudlin* NED. s. v., and the pronunciation of »Magdalen(e) College« as *mōdlin* (Rippmann, *Sounds of Spoken Engl.*, London 1906, p. 116). In the EScGloss., I have noted *gaw-mond* 'gammon of bacon'; *quaw-mire* 'quagmire'; in A. Scott, *stalf* 'staff' 2. 66; *walx* 'wax' sb. 1. 105 (cf. Jamieson, s. v. *wax*; *x* instead of *s* (*aks* > *aus*) is the traditional spelling; cf. *peax*, *peice*, 'peace' A. Scott 1. 10, 32, 51, influenced by Lat. *pax*). Tait has the rimes *clock* (OE. *cloccian*): *folk* p. 153 (on T.'s rimes, see § 92, note).

§ 20. It is difficult to ascertain, when this sound-change first came into operation. In the North of Scotland, it must have taken place before OE. *ī* had become a diphthong (see § 94). In other parts of the country, however, the MSc. *ī* arising out of *ik* etc. has remained intact down to the present day, because at the period when it developed, OE. *ī* had already been modified, so that the new *ī* was levelled under eMSc. *ē* (cf. forms like *striik* § 94). The earliest examples I know of are found in the *Earliest Engl. Prose Psalter* (ed. Bülbring EETS. 97) where we find *craukes* 101 (102) 4, 'cracklings' (cf. NED. s. v. *crowkins*, *crowkoun*), and *tauken* 189 (190) 61, 'taken' pp. (from the inf. \**takke* with long *k*, see § 72 b). Considering the date of the MSS. (Hirst, *Diss. Introd.*), this change must have taken place before the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, unless these spellings be regarded as belonging to the numerous careless mistakes of the scribe. However this may be, in the present state of our knowledge it is impossible to ascertain the chronology, or fix the boundaries of this sound-change. Before that can be done, a careful inquiry into the living dialects, combined with a renewed examination of the early texts is required. Particular attention should be paid to the forms of both local and proper names, as found at the present day as well as in charters and MSS. I venture to say that much valuable material bearing on the question of »vocalisation« might be derived from such sources.



V.

**Pronunciation.**

NB. The classification and terminology used are those of Dr. Henry Sweet.

§ 21. It cannot be the aim of this chapter to deal with all the variations of pronunciation found in so extensive a region as that of D.39. The following statements are the result of a comparative study of dialect speakers from various parts of the North-East of Scotland. On the whole, it was found that the basis of articulation is the same all over that territory.

§ 22. Through the kindness of Mr. Grant I had the privilege of being admitted to three of the larger board-schools in the City of Aberdeen, where opportunity was afforded me of listening to reading exercises in the different classes. This method of phonetic investigation proved most instructive; here attention could be concentrated on a sound anticipated, whereas otherwise one has to rely upon casual observations. Although in this manner the pronunciation of dialect words could not be ascertained — the children using the vocabulary of standard English<sup>1</sup> — it was possible to make a close study of the articulation, which is only gradually affected, and never totally changed when a literary idiom is acquired. It was, of course, chiefly in the infant department were the children still adhere to the pronunciation learnt at home and in the street that the most reliable results were obtained. It was highly interesting to notice the gradual »refinement« of pronunciation towards what might be styled »Polite Scotch« to be observed as one proceeded to the higher standards. The nature of that refined and literary idiom cannot, however, be discussed here; nor is it within the limits of this dissertation to deal with the striking differences that were discovered in the pronunciation of the more intelligent pupils and their less talented comrades on the one hand, and the boys and girls on the other.

§ 23. The ne. Sc. dialect contains — as far as has been ascertained — thirteen simple vowel sounds and four diphthongs.

Table of Vowel Sounds.

Vowels occurring in diphthongs only have been included in brackets.      Narrow      Wide

		$\bar{i}$		$i\vee$	$\bar{i}\vee$	High	
	$\alpha$ $au$	$\vartheta$	$\bar{e}$	$\check{a}$ $ai$	$\vartheta$	$\varepsilon\vee$	Mixed
						$(\ae i)$	Low
	$\bar{u} >$			$(u\vee)$			High
Round	$\delta$			$q$ $oi$			Mixed
							Low

Back   Mid   Front   Back   Mid   Front

§ 24. Vowel Quantity. — As to their quantity, the vowels are divided into three classes:

I. Short vowels:

α) from MSc. short vowels:

1. narrow: *α*, *ə*;
2. wide: *α*, *ə*, *ī*∨, *ə*, *ī*∨, *ε*∨.

β) from MSc. long vowels and diphthongs; these are the well-known Scotch »stopped« vowels; they occur before all stop-consonants (*d*, *t*; *g*, *k*; *b*, *p*; *l*), before the voiceless open-consonants (*h*, *s*; *c*, *x*; *f*); and all consonant combinations; moreover before consonants generally in words of two or more syllables;

*ū* >, *ō*, *i*, *e*, *α*<sup>1</sup>).

II. Half-long vowels:

these are derived from MSc. long vowels and diphthongs standing before a simple voiced open consonant (*ð*, *z*, *r*; *v*) although shorter than the ordinary long vowels in English (and German), they have not been especially marked as such;

*ū* >, *ō*, *ī*, *ē*, *ā*.

1) See § 37.

III. Over-long vowels; all final stressed vowels belong to this class;

$\hat{u} > \hat{o}, \hat{i}, \hat{e}, \hat{a}$ .

The addition of an inflectional *d* or *z* does not alter the quality of the root-vowel.

NB. On all questions of quantity, Dr. Murray's lucid account of the Scotch vowel system (DSCSc. p. 96 sqq.) should be consulted.

§ 25. *a* is the mid-back-narrow vowel; its narrowness is much more marked than in the *u* of English *hut*.

*wark* 'work'; — *gran* 'ground' sb.; — *fasl* 'whistle'.

§ 26. *ə* is the mid-mixed-narrow vowel, as heard in the second vowel of German *rose*, as I pronounce it<sup>1</sup>); it occurs only before *r*.

*bærk* 'birch'; — *bærn* 'burden'; — *fær* 'fir'.

§ 27. *a* is the mid-back-wide vowel, identical with the *a* in Northern German *ratte*, in my own pronunciation; in studied speech, i. e. in the attempt to speak »fine«, this vowel frequently advances towards the low-front position.

*mak* 'make'; — *saft* 'soft'; — *wal* 'well' sb.

§ 28. *q* is the mid-back-round vowel; it is identical with the Northern German *q* in *rotte* as I pronounce it<sup>1</sup>).

*brqð* 'collecting box'; — *rqa* 'rough'; — *folpə* 'whelp'.

§ 29.  $\bar{u}$  is the high-mixed-wide vowel lowered; it is similar in sound to the *u* in Northern Welsh *dun*.

*bīn* 'bind'; — *dīst* 'dust'; — *kwīntrə* 'country'.

§ 30. *ə* is the mid-mixed-wide vowel, identical with the unstressed vowel in Engl. *fāðə* 'father'; it occurs in unstressed syllables only.

*wīndə* 'window'; — *əz* 'has, is' (unstressed); — *bərə* 'bury'.

§ 31.  $\bar{i}$  is the high-front-wide vowel lowered; it is somewhat different in sound from the short *i* in Engl. *pī* 'pit'.

*dīn* 'strike'; — *hīn* 'hang'; — *mīnk* 'noose'.

§ 32.  $\bar{e}$  is the mid-front wide vowel lowered; it is not so open as the *a* in Engl. *hæt* 'hat', by which it is represented in the Southern parts of Scotland (DSCSc. p. 109).

*gers* 'grass'; — *kert* 'cart'; — *ledī* 'lady'.

1) I was born and brought up at Essen an der Ruhr (Rheinpreussen).

§ 33. *u* > is the high-back-narrow-round vowel slightly advanced; it is higher in pitch than the *ū* in German *gut*, or in Engl. *spoon*.

*sux* 'sough'; — *sūn* 'sound' adj.; — *sū* 'heap, stack'.

§ 34. *o* is the mid-back-narrow-round vowel, identical with German *ō* in *rose*.

*brokn* 'broken'; — *dōr* 'door'; — *æmō* 'among'.

§ 35. *i* is the high-front-narrow vowel, identical with German *i* in *biene*.

*nips* 'turnips'; — *wīr* 'wire'; — *dī* 'do'.

§ 36. *e* is the mid-front-narrow vowel, as the vowel in German *leer*.

*ets* 'oats'; — *rēn* 'rain'; — *tē* 'toe'.

§ 37. *a* is the mid-back-wide vowel, as already described (§ 27); it seems to be the only vowel that is not quite shortened, when »stopped«; when representing MSc. *au*, it is never quite short even before a voiceless consonant; therefore, the »stopped« as well as the half-long variety are, in the following chapters, equally rendered with the symbol *a*, as they are nearly identical in quantity.

*fax* 'wide furrows'; — *hād* 'hold'; — *rā* 'row'.

§ 38. The Diphthongs. This dialect contains four diphthongs, of which only three are genuine:

*au*, *æi*, *ai*;

*qi*.

§ 39. *au* is the mid-back-narrow vowel (§ 25) followed by the high-back-wide-round vowel; the latter sound is the same as the *u* in Engl. *put*.

*staun* 'stolen'; — *daug* 'dog'; — *bjauti* 'beauty'.

§ 40. *æi* is the mid-back-wide vowel advanced, followed by the high-front-wide vowel lowered (§ 31).

*spæik* 'speak'; — *græis* 'young pig'; — *næin* 'nine'.

§ 41. *ai* is the mid-back-wide vowel (§ 27) followed by the high-front-wide vowel lowered (§ 31); this diphthong is identical with the diphthong in Engl. *line*.

*raiv* 'rive'; — *kai* 'cows'; — *kwain* 'girl'.

§ 42. *qi* is the same sound as the diphthong in Engl. *voice*; it is only used in »Polite Scotch« in words which have that sound in English.

# The Consonants.

§ 43. The consonants are the same as in Standard English; the symbols are those commonly employed.

Table of Consonants.

	Stop	Open	Side	Nasal	Trill	
Back.	<i>k</i> <i>g</i>	<i>x</i>		<i>ŋ</i>	[ <i>ɹ</i> ]	breath voice
Front.		<i>ç</i> <i>j</i>		<i>ŋ</i>		br. v.
Point.	<i>t</i> <i>d</i>		<i>l</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>r</i>	br. v.
Point-Teeth.		<i>þ</i> <i>ð</i>				br. v.
Blade-Point.		<i>s</i> <i>z</i>				br. v.
Blade.		<i>ʃ</i> <i>ʒ</i>				br. v.
Lip.	<i>p</i> <i>b</i>			<i>m</i>		br. v.
Lip-Teeth.		<i>f</i> <i>v</i>				br. v.
Lip, + Back- Modi- fication.		<i>w</i>				v.

In addition to these consonants, the aspirate *h* occurs.

§ 44. *l* is the ›clear‹ point-side consonant; the ›back‹ or ›thick‹ *l* is rarely used; I have noticed it only once, between back stops, in — *makl gauk* ‘muckle gowk’, i. e. ‘big fool’.

§ 45. The usual, and only ›correct‹ pronunciation of *r* in all positions (also when final in an unstressed syllable) is a strongly trilled point consonant. The ›back‹, or ›guttural‹ *r* is rather frequently met with in the North-East of Scotland; it appears, however, only sporadically with individual speakers and cannot be regarded as a peculiarity of the dialect; see Mod. Lang. Notes 23. 68<sup>1</sup>.



## Phonology.

### The MSc. Vowels Treated Historically. The Vowels of Accented Syllables.

#### VI.

#### The Short Vowels.

##### MSc. *i*.

§ 46. The chief sources of MSc. *i* are OE. and Scand. *i*: and *y*:; in a few cases it results from older *ī* and *e* through shortening. Before lengthening consonant-groups of the OE. period, the OE. *ī* was shortened in MSc. in the majority of words belonging to this class (cf. Kendal § 32).

§ 47. MSc. *i* has, unless influenced by neighbouring sounds, undergone a process of lowering and retraction. An early example of this change in the North is furnished by R. Verstegan (c. 1600); he transcribes the phrase »yf I had it« with »gin ay hadet« as representing what »the Northern man saith«; p. 195. The *Statistical Account* (c. 1775) contains the following information: »The sound of short English *i* . . . . . is never used in our dialect«, but »a sound approaching English *e* is substituted«. The examples given are: *pet* 'pit'; *fet* 'fit'; *peck* 'pick'.

§ 48. MSc. *i* usually appears as *ī*.

a) *bīn* 1) 'bin' OE. *binn* C 2) 'bind'; — *blīn* 'blind'; — *bīnt* 'a plant', see NED. s. v. *bint*; — *blīn* 'blind'; — *bīt* 'bit'; — *dīp* 'dip'; — *fīlī* 'little while'; — *fīn* 'find'; — *fīf* 'fish', + *faf* cf. § 51; — *gīmār* 'a young female sheep' Scand. *gymbr*; — *kīnl* 'kindle'; — *kīst* 'chest', Bj. 143, Windhill § 89; — *kītl* 'ticklish', 'critical' Scand. *kittla*; — *kīlm* 'climb'; — *līft* 'air' OE. *lyft* C; — *līntī* 'linnet' OE. *linetwīge*; — *mīdn* 'dung-heap' Scand.

*mykidynqja* Bj. 217; — *mīnt* 'to endeavour feebly' OE. *myntan*; — *pīt* 'pit'; — *rīn* 'run' OE. *rinnan*; — *sīk* 'such' OE. *suilce* Lindisf. Siev. § 342 anm. 3; — *sīt* 'sit'; — *stīf* 'stiff'; — *stīk* 'stick'; — *strikn* 'striking' MSc. *strick* EScGloss.; — *filān* 'shilling'; — *tīl* 'to' Scand. *tīl* Bj. 222; — *pīg* 'to beg' OE. *picgan*; — *wīn* 'to go, walk' OE. *winnan*.

b) OE. *e* has become *i* after *ġ* (Bülbr. § 492) in the following words:

*ġīt* 'yet' OE. *get* adv. C, cf. *zit* A. Scott; — *ġīrn* 'yearn'; — *ġīt* 'get' (the stop *g* is of Scand. origin).

With regard to the change OE. *ġe* > *gi* in unaccented syllables cf. MSc. *I wiss*, OE. *gewiss*.

c) 1) Before OE. *h*, Mod. Sc. *ç*, *i* undergoes the regular development: *dīct* 'to clean' OE. *dihtiga* C; — *drīç* 'dry' OE. \**drȳh* see Kögel, Beitr. 14. 105; — *flīct* 'flight'; — *frīct* 'fright'; — (*v*)*rīct* 'wright'.

2) OE. *e* which in part of the Northumbrian territory had, after the year 1000, changed into *i* before *ht*, *hs*, *hþ*<sup>1)</sup> (Bülbring, Angl. Bbl. 9. 70), is still preserved as *ε*; the *ī*-forms, however, exist also by the side of the more original ones with *ε*; they seem to have been introduced from a Southern dialect: — *brīct*, *ε* 'bright' OE. *berht* C; — *fīct*, *ε* 'fight'; — *līct*, *ε* 'light' (lumen); — *nīct*, *ε* 'night'; — *rīct*, *ε* 'right'; — *wīct*, *ε* 'weight', + *waxt* cf. § 88, OE. *wiht*, contaminated with *wegan* > MSc. *weht*, Morsb. p. 69, Curtis § 420, or from Scand. *veht*.

Only *ī* is recorded in: — *hīct* 'height' Bülbring, Angl. Bbl. 10. 8; — *slīct* 'dexterity' Scand. *sløghþ* Bj. 219. (In both cases, the vowel goes back to older *ē* which may have become *i* when shortened before *hþ* (*ht*)); see Luick, Stud.

§ 49. Before *r*, MSc. *i* appears as *ȳ*:

*bȳrd* 'bird'; — *bȳrk* 'birch'; — *bȳrn* 'burden' OE. *byrðen* C; — *kȳrk* 'church'; — *mȳri* 'merry' MSc. *mirry* Ever Green I, 51; — *mȳrk* 'darkness' Scand. *myrkr* Bj. 146; — *stȳrk* 'stirk', 'bullock'; — *pȳrd* 'third'.

§ 50. MSc. *i* is represented by *ī* in the following cases:

a) occasionally before dental and front stops:

1) Cf. *licht*, *mycht*, *nycht*, *rycht*, in de la Haye's *Book of the Law of Armes*.

*bīd* 'bid'; — *dīd* 'did'; — *rīg* 'ridge'; — *brīg* 'bridge'; — *bīg* 'to build' Scand. *byggua* Bj. 32; — *þīk* 'to thatch' + *pak*, cf. § 82 a, the *i* was introduced through influence of the prt. OE. *þehte* (with the vowel of the present *þecca(n)*), > MSc. *\*þihte*, according to § 48, c. 2.

b) Regularly before MSc. *ȝ*:

1) OE., Scand. *i* (*y*) occurs in the following words:

*bīȝ* 'a heap' Scand. *bingr* Bj. 204; — *drīȝk* 'drink'; — *þīȝk* 'think'; — *þīȝ* 'thing'.

2) In MSc., *e* before *ȝ* had become *i*, so that it was levelled under OE. *i*. Cf. MSc. *Inglis* < *englisc*, recorded in the 14<sup>th</sup> c., NED.; Horn, Hist. neuengl. gramm. § 25.

Examples are:

*bīntf* 'bench' MSc. *bīnk* Luick, Stud. 190, with the cons. taken from stand. Engl.; — *brīȝ* 'bring' OE. *brenga* C, cf. Siev. § 407 anm. 15 (not mentioned by Jordan as a word peculiar to Anglian); — *dīȝ* 'to strike' Scand. *dengja* Flom 36; — *hīȝ* 'hang' Scand. *hengja* Luick l. c., Ackermann p. 42; — (*v*)*rīntf* 'to wrench', + (*v*)*rantf* cf. § 88 a, OE. *wrenc*, with the cons. of stand. Engl.

In — *līnþ* 'length'; and — *strīnþ* 'strength', the cons. has been changed through assimilation; see Luick l. c., Ackermann l. c.

Note. *mīȝk* 'a noose', 'a halter' may be derived from (British?) Vulgar Latin *manica* 'a handle' (Fr. *manche*), see Körtling 5883; OE. *\*manicu* > *\*mænic* Bülbr. § 170 > *\*menic* > MSc. *\*menk* > — *mīȝk*; cf. the development of OE. *mynet* < Lat. *monēta*, Pogatscher, Lautlehre der Griech., Lat. u. Rom. Lehnworte im AE. Q. u. F. 69, Index; Bülbr. § 161 b. The development of meaning would be as follows; a handle > an instrument for holding an animal, i. e. 'a halter', which has the form of 'a noose'.

§ 51. In a large number of words, MSc. *i* has been retracted to the mid-back position, thus coinciding with the sound of MSc. *u*; it cannot be ascertained whether this levelling took place at a time when MSc. *u* had not yet been unrounded. This sound-change is firmly established in the instances enumerated below, where it is caused by a preceding



or following labial or *l*; besides, it is also found in words which are dissyllabic in MSc.

In the higher parts of the ne. Scotch region, nearly every MSc. *i* has undergone this change; there, the words given in §§ 48; 49 may all be heard sounded with *a* instead of *ī* or *i*. It is well worth noticing that in those parts Celtic was spoken until a comparatively recent date (Murray DSCS. 238, 9), and that the habit of pronouncing *i* as *a* is generally regarded as a peculiarity of Highlanders' speech. In the *Statistical Account* (c. 1775) this change is alluded to as characteristic of the North of Scotland; the examples given are: *fulthy* 'filthy'; *fuscal* 'fiscal'; *wull* 'will'; *futch* 'which'; see also Flom § 17. 2.

MSc. *i* appears as *a* in:

*braml* 'bramble' MSc. *brimbyl* Curs. Mundi, *i* is the result of shortening of Northumbrian *ē* (WS. *ǣ*) < WGmc. *ā*, cf. Morsb. § 109, a 1, Bülbr. § 192 anm., Luick, Stud. p. 190; — *banl* 'bundle'; — *baznəs* 'business' OE. *bisignise* C, MSc. *bysynesse* Compl. Scotl.; — *fasl* 'whistle'; — *hal* 'hill'; — *ha(r)sl* 'to move' cf. Scand. *hyrsta*; — *latl* 'little'; — *malk* 'milk'; — *pakl* 'a quantity of anything' cf. ME. *pikken* etc. NED. s. v. *puckle*; — *tjakn* 'chicken'; — *paml* 'thimble'; — *wal* 'mad' Scand. *villr* Flom 72; — *wali* 'Willie'; — *watf* 'witch'; — *waf*, *was* 'wish'; — *al* 'ill'.

Note. *fatl* 'knife', 'whittle' points to an OE. *\*hwitel*, -il < WGmc. *\*hwitiloz*; cf. OE. *hwettan*; the same ending is found in OHG. *meizil*.

NB. All the words enumerated in the preceding paragraph occur also with *ī*, which is no doubt due to the influence of neighbouring dialects and »Polite Scotch«.

§ 52. In some dialects of Southern Scotland, *i* before *n* and *m* had become *ε* during the MSc. period; see Sander § 52; § 57 h. — *ben* 'part of a cottage' (»but and ben«), OE. (Northumbrian) *binna*, has spread all over Scotland from those parts. A large number of words of French origin exhibit this change, see § 54a. They seem to prove, that French words were borrowed through the medium of the Southern (Edinburgh) idiom, and not directly from the French.

§ 53. *kīy* 'king', formed, perhaps, on analogy of *kwīn*

'queen' (?); the *ī* may also be due to lengthening in open syllable (§ 100, 1): OE. *cinīng* > \**kēning* > — *kīy*. (Suggested by Prof. Bülbring.)

### *i* of French and Latin Origin.

§ 54. a) *denər* 'dinner', this form points to MSc. *e*. Cf. Windhill § 212; — *prensəpl* 'principle'; — *seml* 'simple', also presuppose MSc. *e*; see § 52.

b) *faskl* 'fiscal', from Latin, see § 51.

### MSc. *u*.

§ 55. MSc. *u* has two main sources, OE. and Scand. *u*: and *y*:; its regular representative is *a*. OE. *ū* (< *u*) before lengthening cons. groups has in the majority of cases been levelled under MSc. *u* through shortening.

§ 56. MSc. *u* appears as *a* in the following instances:

a) MSc. *u* < OE., Scand. *u*:;

*bayk* 'artificial ditch' Scand. \**bunk*- NED. s. v. *bunk*; — *barn* 'a brook'; — *bas* 'bush'; — *bat* 'part of a cottage' cf. OE. *būtan*; — *dram* 'muddy', 'troubled' (of water) cf. EFris. *drummig* Wood, Mod. Lang. Notes 22. 234, 5; — *dam* 'dumb'; — *kas* 'curse'; — *lag* 'ear', 'handle' cf. Bj. 217; — *lav* 'love'; — *marn* 'mourn'; — *matf* 'a woman's cap', 'mutch', from LLat. *almucium*, -*ia* Ducange, probably adopted through Low German cf. MLG. *a(l)mutse* Franck s. v. *mutse*; — *rag* 'to pull' Scand. *rugga* Bj. 252; — *wadi* 'woody'; — *raml* 'rumble'.

b) MSc. *u* < OE., Scand. *y*:; the older *y* (including Northumbrian *y* < *i* after labials; Bülbr. § 282) was retained in a number of words in MSc.; the eMSc. *y* was levelled under *u* and shared the later development of this sound. The preservation took place if the *y* was preceded by a labial and followed by a cons. capable of labial modification. The irregularity with which this sound-change has been carried through is, no doubt, due to mixture of dialects.

*baxt* 'sheep-fold' OE. *byht*, Scand. origin improbable, Flom p. 31; see Vigf. s. v. *bugt*; — *mak* 'dung' Scand. *mykr* Bj. 250; — *makl* 'much'; — *mal* 'mill'; — *mardr* 'murder'; — *wal* 'will'; — *wark* 'to work', + *wærk* cf. § 49, OE. *wyrca* C;

— *warþ* 'worth' (cf. however, MSc. *wirship* A. Scott), OE. *wyrðe* C.

Note. *fū* 'why' OE. *hwȳ*; an eMSc. *\*hwy* is derived from the OE. unstressed form *hwy*; if stressed, the *u* (< *y*) was lengthened in final position.

NB. Although most of the preceding examples might also fall under § 51, they have been enumerated here because they appear with *u* already in MSc.; see also § 65.

§ 57. MSc. *u* has become *q* before *h* (= *x*):

*brqx* 'borough' OE. *burug* C; — *drqxt* 'drought' OE. *drūgað*; — *rqx* 'rough' OE. *rūh* C.

§ 58. Before the dental nasal *n*, *u* appears as *ī*. The *ī* of some of the following examples has been explained as being the result of shortening of MSc. fronted *ō* < *u*-; cf. Luick, Stud. 117, Unters. § 511. But this assumption does not account for *ī* < *u* in syllables that have remained closed all through the MSc. period as found in — *sīn* 'sun', — *hīnt* 'hunt' etc. (cf. Kruisinga, Literaturblatt 28, 276), nor is this explanation probable in a case like — *hīnī* 'honey' (see Heuser, Neue Philol. Rdsch. 1908, p. 38 sqq.). Besides, I see no reason why these wholesale shortenings of vowels, lengthened only a short time before, should have taken place particularly before *n*. As to — *bīl* 'bull', — *sīmər* 'summer', given as examples of the same change, see § 144.

Before becoming *ī*, *u* must, of course, have passed through the high-mixed position. It is curious to observe that this fronting of *u* is also found in Devonshire and Cornwall (R. P. Chope, Dial. of Hartland: Trans. Phil. Soc. 1891, p. 12): large parts of Scotland as well as Cornwall and Devonshire were conquered from a Celtic population during the later Middle Ages (H. Jenner, Transact. Phil. Soc. 1873—74, p. 178 sqq.). This fact might account for this curious sound-change; see the remarks on MSc. *ū* becoming *i* when shortened § 144.

*bīnwid* 'a plant' OE. *bune*; — *dīn* 'dun', 'dusky' OE. *dunn*; — *grīnt* 'grunt' OE. *grunettan*; — *hīnī*, — *hīnə* 'honey'; — *hīnt* 'hunt' (very rare); — *līn* 'plank of wood', 'sleeper' Scand. *hlunnr*; — *kīnən* 'cony', 'rabbit' Lat. *cuniculus* cf. NED. s. v. *cunning*; — *pīn* 'strike from a distance', 'a sharp blow' OE. *pūnian*; — *rīn* 'run' pp.; — *sīn* 'son'; — *sīn* 'sun'; — *wīn* 'live',

'dwell' OE. *wuniga* C cf. MSc. *winneing*, *winen* Henryson; — *wint* 'accustomed to' (+*want* according to § 51); cf. Hupe, E. Stud. 11. 493.

*dint* 'strike with a hollow sound', 'dunt' Bj. 235; — *fin* 'shinny', 'a game similar to hockey' cf. OE. *scunian*.

*fin* 'humour', 'temper', is evidently identical with 'fun', of doubtful etymology; NED.

[*bin*, — *binər* 'move with velocity and noise' Celt. *buan*, *buanawr*, NED. s. v. *bin*.]

*winər* 'wonder', see § 59.

Note. *mīn* 'must', is heard in the Shetl. Isl., Scand. *munu* cf. Windhill § 111; cf. also 'lintstock', from Du. *lont* NED.; cf. the rime »nane« (*nīn*): »nun« Ball. 303. 7 (North of Scotland).

§ 59. OE. *ū* from *u* before *nd* generally appears as *α*; this leads us to assume that the *ū* was shortened at a time when *u* before *n* had been fronted already, as otherwise it would have undergone that change. It is difficult to say whether in — *winər* 'wonder', the *ī* is due to fronting of *u* before *n* or to early shortening of *ū* (§ 144). I feel inclined to decide in favour of the former alternative.

In connexion with this question, the following rimes from A. Scott will be of interest: *thunder* : *funder* : *blunder* : *winder* (i. e. 'wonder') 2. 145 sqq.; are we to assume that Scott pronounced *ī* in all four words although he wrote *u* in the first three?

§ 60. The vowel *u* of the prefix *un-* has, 'if stressed been lengthened: *unles* 'unless'; — *unprensəpld* 'unprincipled', etc.

§ 61. *u* of Mod. French origin is found in *baf* 'idle talk', 'nonsense' French *bouffer*.

#### MSc. *o*.

§ 62. The main source of MSc. *o* is OE. and Scand. *o*; in a number of instances it is derived from OE. *ō*, notably before *ht* (cf. Sweet HES. § 377) and *st* (Morsb. § 59). This short *o* must have had the open sound (mid-back-wide-round) in the 15<sup>th</sup> cent., when the first examples of the change of *o* into *α* under labial influence are found (Horn, Unters. 28).

The unrounding of the narrow (or close) *o* would have resulted in *a*, the present sound of MSc. *u*.

§ 63. MSc. *o* usually appears as *q*; if a word containing this vowel is pronounced with particular stress, the *q* sometimes turns into *o*; in all cases where this has been observed, I have added below an *o* after the form with *q*:

*brqd* 'collecting box' OE. *bord*; — *brqb* 'broth'; — *dqtl* 'plug of tobacco' cf. NED. s. v. *dottel*; — *hqrn*, *o* 'horn'; — *hq̃s* 'horse'; — *jqk* 'yoke'; — *kqrn* 'corn'; — *nqk*, *o* 'knock'; — *qkstr* 'armpit' OE. *ohsta*; — *qrp̃at* 'peevish', 'querulous' Scand. *orpin* pp. cf. D. D. s. v. *orpiet*; — *rqk*, *o* 'rock'; — *stqk* 'good-natured fellow' Scand. *stokkr*; — *stqrm*, *o* 'storm'; — *stqt* 'young bull'; — *prqt* 'throat';

*bq̃lt* 'bolt'; — *cqlt* 'colt', are taken from stand. Engl.; they occur also with *au*.

Before *h*, *o* has been preserved unchanged:

*dq̃xtr* 'daughter', + *daxtr* § 71, note, *dãpr* § 168; — *hq̃x* 'hough'; — *kq̃x* 'cough'; — *trq̃x* 'trough'; — *bq̃xt* 'bought'; — (*v*)*rq̃xt* 'wrought'; — *brq̃xt* 'brought'; — *sq̃xt* 'sought'; — *pq̃xt* 'thought'.

§ 64. In the position before or after labial consonants, MSc. *o* has become unrounded; this change is caused by a shifting of either the beginning or end of lip-action:

*af* 'off'; — *afn* 'often'; — *apn* 'open'; — *drap* 'drop'; — *kraft* 'croft'; — *laft* 'loft'; — *mar̃a* 'morning' OE. *morgen* C; — *nap̃a* 'strong', 'fresh' (of liquor) OE. *\*hnoppa*, see NED. s. v. *nap* sb.<sup>3</sup>; — *pat* 'pot'; — *saft* 'soft'; — *strap* 'strop' (for beating) OE. *strop*(*p*); — *tam* 'Thomas'; — *tap* 'top'; — *war̃al*, — *wardl* 'world' North. Northumbrian *\*woruld* Bülbr. § 266.

Note 1. — *badr* 'bother', presupposes an OE. *\*bod(d)erian*, *ð*(*ð*), connected with Germ. *butteln* etc. Sanders, wb.; the form — *badr* is to be derived from an OE. verb with *u* § 56; Verner's Law and Gmc. »brechung« have produced a great variety of forms of this root; the original sense was 'to beat persistently'.

Note 2. Under the influence of stand. Engl. the *q* has been retained (or reintroduced) in:

*bq̃dm* 'bottom'; — *t/q̃p* 'shop'.

The unrounding has not taken place in — *fql̃a* 'follow',

on account of the *l* which in this dialect always favours labialisation; cf. § 56. There exists, however, a MSc. *fallow* A. Scott 2. 146.

Note 3. 1) — *mān*, 2) — *man*, 3) — *mōn*, 4) — *mæn* 'must', »maun«, is to be derived from Scand. *mono*; if unstressed, the *o* may have remained [3]); if stressed, it was unrounded [2]); the *a* arising in this manner became lengthened when pronounced emphatically [1]); this latter change must have been effected after MSc. *a* had been fronted (see § 117). — *mæn* is the unaccented form of the verb.

Note 4. *mat* 'must' is recorded in a text from the ne. Sc. area, Ball. Gloss.; OE. *mōtan* > MSc. *mot* EScGloss. through shortening.

§ 65. In a few cases, Northumbrian *æ* has been preserved if preceded by a labial and followed by a consonant capable of labial modification; cf. Northumbrian *y* > *u* § 56 b. This *æ* appears as *q* in the words enumerated below; unrounding did not take place for the reason given in § 64 note 2, s. v. *fqla*.

*wqltr* 'to turn over', »welter«, MSc. *woltir* A. Scott 36. 80 M, the Mod. Engl. *welter* points to a Northumbrian form with *æ* Bülbr. § 276, + *waltr* see § 88 a; — *fqlpə* 'whelp' Northumbrian *hwælp* C; — *fqla* 'fellow' Scand. *fēlage*, perhaps influenced by Northumbrian *færa* 'socius' C, + *fala* see § 64 note 2; — *wqb* 'web' OE. *webb* Northumbrian \**wæbb* Bülbr. l. c., + *wab* see § 88 a.

§ 66. OE. *q* from WGmc. *a* before nasals is represented by *a* in the Northern dialects; see § 72 c; for exceptions to this rule see § 127. But in unaccented positions, this vowel became narrowed (Bülbr. § 451, Bülbring Angl. Bbl. VII, 71) and was, consequently, not unrounded towards the end of the OE. period. This fact accounts for the *q* in the following examples which take their origin from OE. weak forms:

*jqn* 'yon'; — *jqnr* 'yonder'; — *ajqnt* 'beyond';

*əmqn* 'among', + *əmd*, see § 204; — *mqnə*, — *mqni* 'many', MSc. *monie* Curtis § 35, Morsb. § 89 anm. 2; Bülbring, Angl. Bbl. VII, 71; these two words remained unstressed in MSc. as otherwise the *o* would have become unrounded after the labial, see § 64, cf. — *mqn* 'maun' § 64 note 3; the develop-

ment of the final cons. in — *əmqn* tends to strengthen this view, see § 215; — *əmq*, — *əmq̃* occurs also as a further weakening of — *əmqn*.

*qna*, — *qñ* 'any', formed on analogy of — *m̃qna* DSCSc. 114, Windhill § 146.

#### *o* of French and Latin Origin.

§ 67. *stamək* 'stomach'; *o* has been unrounded according to the rule given in § 64.

§ 68. *džqn*, *q* 'John'; — *džqk*, *q* 'Jock', byform of 'Jack' NED. (perhaps a late borrowing from continental French, with *o* representing French *a*, cf. — *pr̃q̃baks* 'practices' § 230, note); when pronounced with emphasis, the vowel becomes narrow, see § 63.

§ 69. The following words are late borrowings from French or Latin; note the not unrounded *q* before the labial:

*droqz* 'drugs' French *drogue*; — *qns* 'ounce' French *once*; — *stqf* 'stuff' French *étouffe* (+ Engl. *stuff*); — *dq̃m̃ni* 'school-master' Latin *dominus*.

§ 70. *džala*, — *džali* 'jolly' OFr. *jolif* contaminated with OE. *gall̃ic* with the vowel shortened; cf. MSc. *gelly* A. Scott 2. 183 with later shortening of the older *a* having become *ē*, cf. § 120.

#### MSc. *a*.

§ 71. In the majority of examples, MSc. *a* is derived from OE. *a*, *æ*, *ea* in closed syllables. OE. *o* from *a* before nasals became unrounded in the beginning of the MSc. period; if long, it had been shortened previously to the unrounding; for exceptions to this rule see — *tjañz* 'tongs' § 119; — *waīm* 'womb' § 121. Scand. *a* was levelled under OE. *a*. A few words contain MSc. *a* from older *ā*, and from OE. *æ* shortened during the OE. period already (*ā* > *æ* > *a*).

§ 72. MSc. *a* has been preserved unchanged in the following instances:

a) *akr* 'acre' + *āk̃r* see § 168, *ekr* see § 117; — *aks* 'ask'; — *aš* 'ash'; — *bad* 'bad'; — *bak* 'back'; — *brakn* 'bracken' Bj. 231; — *fal̃əs* 'fallows'; — *fat* 'what' (stressed); — *fadr*, *ð* 'father'; — *flag* 'flat stone' Scand. *flag*; — *frak* 'rush' OE. *fræc*

B. T.; — *gablen* 'idle talk' Scand. *gabba* Bj. 240; — *gast* 'fright' OE. *gæstan*; — *halə* 'hollow valley' OE. *healh*; — *kalər* 'cool', 'fresh' Scand. *caldr* Flom 32; — *kast* 'cast'; — *krak* 'gossip' OE. *cracian*; — *klap* 'clap'; — *laməs* 'the Sunday nearest to the 1<sup>st</sup> of August' OE. *hlafmæsse*; — *last* 'last' adj.; — *padək* 'land-frog' Scand. *padda*; — *sad* 'sad'; — *stap* 'step' OE. *stæppan* Bülbr. § 177; — *stap* 'to stuff', 'fill' Scand. *stappa* Flom Gloss.; — *fal* 'shell' OE. *scealu*; — *tfafts* 'jaws' ME. *chavele* + Scand. *\*keft* Bj. 260; — *pak* 'thatch' + *pik* see § 50 a; — *pratn* 'threaten'; — *praf* 'thresh' OE. *þærscā* Bülbr. § 518; — *wap* 'fold up' Scand. *vappa*; — *wapnfa* 'muster of arms' Scand. *vapn* Bj. 93; — *wasp* 'wasp'; — *waf* 'wash'; — *watr* 'water'; — *tfap* 'young fellow' OE. *cēapmōnn* C, with shifting of accent after *ē* see § 191. 1, and shortening of *a* in the compound: *cēapmōnn* > *\*c(e)āpmon* > *\*capman*; cf. *chapmen* »pedlars« Ball. 282. 2; Burns.

b) A number of verbal forms exhibit an exceptional development: — *mak* 'make'; — *tak* 'take' (sb. 'lease of a farm') are derived from the MSc. imperative; there existed also forms with a lengthened vowel in MSc., *mayk*, *tayk*. — *fak* 'shake', was either derived from the same verbal form, or influenced by — *mak* and — *tak*; cf. also Northumbrian *sceacca* C, with *cc*.

*brak* 'break'; — *spak* 'speak', are formed on analogy of the preceding verbs; — *lat* 'let', 'allow', Scand. *lata* Bj. 91, has its vowel shortened for the same reason; cf. *lommi* < *lat me* in Low German, Bülbring, Bonn. Beitr. 15. 131 — *gat* 'got' prt. Scand. *gat* probably furnished the example on which the following preterites have been modelled: — *krap* 'crept'; — *pat* 'put' prt.; — *strak* 'struck' prt. OE. *strac*; — (*v*)*rat* 'wrote' OE. *wrat* C.

Note. — *saks* 'six', the general Scotch form (+ occasional — *seks*) goes back to Northumbrian *\*sæx* cf. Bülbr. § 207; — *lad* 'lad'; — *las* 'lass', not from Celtic, see NED. s. v. *lad*.

c) *a* before nasals is found in the following examples: *hantl*, *haykl* 'handful'; — *kanl* 'candle'; — *kran* 'crane' OE. *cran*, cf. Koepfel, Arch. 104. 285; — *lam* 'lamb' Windhill § 66; — *lan* 'land'; — *lay* 'long'; — *man* 'man' (stressed); — *pan* 'pan'; — *say* 'song' sb.; — *stan* 'stand'; — *stay* 'sting', 'prick' Scand. *stanga*; — *stray* 'strong'; — *pray* 'intimate' OE.



*þrang* sb. 'a crowd'; — (*v*)*ray* 'wrong'; — *wanər* 'wander'; — *kam* 'came' OE. *cam* sg. prt. which must have existed in Northumbrian too, see Siev. § 390 anm. 2.

Note. — *wint* 'want', + *want* is identical with *wint*, a 'wont' § 58; the substitution of one word for the other probably originated in logical considerations of this kind: »One *wants* what one is *wont* to«.

d) Before *h*, MSc. *a* has remained unchanged in:

*draxt* 'draught'; — *fraxt* 'freight' MLG. *vracht* NED. s. v. *freight*; — *lax* 'laugh'; — *slaxtr* 'slaughter'; — *straxt* 'straight' OE. *gestreacht* pp.; — *taxt* 'taught' OE. *tahte* C; — *axtn* 'owed', 'due' MSc. \**achten* pp., a new formation from OE. *ahte* prt., cf. Morsb. § 6. A 19; — *axt* 'eight' Northumbrian *æhto* C, + *εct* (occasionally), which is a borrowed form; cf. Bülbr. § 313.

Note. — *daxtr* 'daughter' + *dapr* see § 168, presupposes an OE. \**dahtor*, \**dæhtor*; this may have arisen in the following manner: in the declension of this word *o* and *e* (< *æ*) existed side by side; accordingly, the *h* was either velar or palatal (see Bülbr. § 515; 209). If the *e* was introduced into the forms with velar *h*, it might, according to Bülbr. § 207, be changed into *æ*, the ancestor of MSc. *a* (this would account also for the stand. Engl. spelling »daughter«).

§ 72. MSc. *a* has become *a* in *ladr*, — *ladr* 'lad' (occasional); cf. MSc. *lawdies* pl. A. Scott I, 53; + *lad* § 72 a; for the cons. see § 220. The lengthening may be due to emphasis (?).

#### *a* of French and Latin Origin.

§ 73. *bakət* 'a box' Fr. *baquet*; — *damert* 'stupefied', 'stunned' cf. Fr. *dam!* < *Dame-Dieu* (*dominus deus*) interj.; — *fatl* 'fatal' Lat. *fatalis* see Luick, Angl. 30. 31.

§ 74. The following words must have been borrowed from continental French at a comparatively early period, as they do not show the development of an *u* before the nasal:

*dans* 'dance' cf. MSc. *daunce*; — *playk* 'plank'; — *say* = 'an expletive' cf. Fr. »*bon sang de Dieu!*«; — *stanjk* 'ditch' OFr. *estang*.

§ 75. *kqrtr* 'quarter', probably borrowed from Engl.

when *a* after *w* had changed into *q*; see Horn, *Hist. neuengl. Gramm.* § 49.

§ 76. *femli* 'family' + *femli* Latin *familia*, must have had the *a* lengthened; MSc.  $\bar{a} > \bar{e}$ , see § 123.

§ 77. *amanz* 'amends' Fr. *amendes*, borrowed from continental Fr. when *e* before nasal had become *a* in Central French; Sander § 69; cf. MSc. *rander* 'to render' A. Scott 1. 146.

#### MSc. $\bar{æ}$ .

§ 78. During the former half of the MSc. period, *e* and *a* before *r* must have been levelled under one sound, which most probably was the intermediate  $\bar{æ}$ ; cf. Adlington § 4; § 12. It is not so much the modern dialect forms, but the MSc. rimes and spellings that suggest this assumption as the most satisfactory. This  $\bar{æ}$  was lengthened so that it coincided with the  $\bar{æ}$  from older *a*, see § 119. Under normal conditions, this  $\bar{æ}$  was raised to  $\bar{e}$ , by which it is represented at the present day. Standing, however, as it usually did, before two consonants, it was particularly liable to being shortened owing to the different combinations that might arise in the breath-group.

Two periods of shortening may be distinguished: as long as  $\bar{æ}r$  remained unchanged it would yield  $\bar{æ}r$  which later on developed into *ar*; if the shortening took place at the time when  $\bar{æ}r$  had become  $\bar{e}r$ , the result would be *er*, Mod. Sc. *er*.

If we accept this explanation, we may draw up the following scheme of development:

eMSc.	MSc.	Mod. Sc.
<i>ar</i>	$\bar{æ}r > \bar{æ}r - \bar{e}r - \bar{e}r$	$\bar{æ}r - ar > ar^1)$
		$> \bar{e}r$
<i>er</i>		$\bar{e}r > er$

We find that already during the MSc. period, considerable variety had been produced in this class; nor had the forms of the individual words been finally settled. One and the same word was pronounced with all three sounds indiscriminately, and it was only in the course of later development that

1) These words may never have undergone lengthening at all.

each word had one sound definitely assigned to it, which was, however, not the same in all dialects.

I shall now give a few examples of spellings taken at random from A. Scott's poems with the intention of illustrating the unsettled conditions of words containing MSc. *æ*r; the spelling *a* implies the pronunciations [*a*, *æ*], *ai* = [*æ*, *ē*], *e* = [*ε*]:

*bairge* 'barge'; *berne* 'barn'; *fairsing* 'stuffing' Fr. *farc*er; *fer* 'far'; *garris* 'makes'; *hart*, *hairt* 'heart'; *large* 'large'; *rewart* 'revert'; *serf* 'serve', etc.; see also the rimes taken from *Clariodus* by Curtis § 302 sqq.; the explanation offered by Curtis § 317 I am unable to accept.

§ 79. MSc. *æ*r has become *ēr* in:

*bern* 'child'; — *ern* 'earn' OE. *earniga* C; — *ernæst* 'earnest'; — *ferli* 'wonder' Scand. *ferligr*; — *heræn* 'herring' OE. *hæring* (with early shortening of Northumbrian *ē* > *e*); — *jerd* 'yard'; — *pēr* 'there' (from an OE. short form).

§ 80. MSc. *æ*r has become *ar* in:

*arlz* 'wages', — *arl* 'to work hard' Scand. *erill* »labor assiduus«, *erla*, vb. (see, however, NED. s. v. *arles* (?)); — *bark* 'to bark'; — *barm* 'barm'; — *barn* 'barn' OE. *berern* C; — *dark* 'dark'; — *far* 'far'; — *farær* 'farther' ME. *ferrer*, a new formation from OE. *feor*; — *gar* 'make' Scand. *gera*; — *hard* 'heard'; — *harnz* 'brains' Scand. \**hern*- Bj. 213; — *karl* 'carl'; — *sark* 'shirt' Scand. *serkr*; — *farn* 'cow's dung' OE. *scearn*; — *warm* 'warm'.

§ 81. MSc. *æ*r has become *er* in:

*gers* 'grass' Scand. *gres* Kluge, Gesch. 941; — *erm* 'arm'; — *herm* 'harm'; — *herdlæn* 'shepherd' OE. *heorde* (see Bülbr. § 140; early Northumbrian *io* has been preserved in MSc. *hirdmen* 'herdsmen' Early Sc. Gloss.); — *hert* 'heart'; — *herþ* 'hearth'; — *kert* 'cart' Scand. *kartr* Bj. 244; — *sterv* 'starve'.

§ 82. *a* from MSc. *æ*r has been lengthened in the Mod. Sc. period when stressed for emphasis;

*dār* 'dear' eMSc. \**der* taken from compounds with shortened vowel, such as, e. g., »darling«; — *dār* 'dare' OE. *dear*(*r*) with the *rr* of the pl.

*æ* of French Origin.

§ 83. MSc. *æ*r of French origin has become *ē* in:

*gerdīn* 'garden'; — *meri*, -ə 'marry'; — *perts* 'talents' »parts«; — *ragerd* 'regard'; — *sēr* 'serve'.

Note. — *kerd* 'card' vb., occurs by the side of — *kjard*, see § 119.

§ 84. It has become *ε* in:

*fērm* 'farm'; — *kerə* 'carry'; — *mervəl* 'marvel'; — *sertn* 'certain'; — *servīn* 'servant'; — *vermən* 'vermin', + *wermən*.

Note. *a* is sometimes used in — *rafar* 'refer'.

#### MSc. *ε*.

§ 85. MSc. *e* takes its origin either from OE. and Scand. *e*; or is the result of shortening of older (Northumbrian) *e*. Under labial influence, it has been retracted, becoming *a*, whereas otherwise it has moved towards the low-front position.

§ 86. MSc. *e* has generally become *ε*:

*eksl* 'axle' Scand. \**exl* Bj. 200; — *bed* 'bed'; — *best* 'best'; — *blest* 'blast' OE. (Northumbrian) \**blēsta* Bülbr. § 96; — *bledr* 'bladder' OE. (Northumbrian) \**blēdre*; — *dēl* 'dell'; — *dēn* 'den'; — *ēdr* 'adder'; — *ēftr* 'after' OE. *æfter*, influenced by OE. *eft* Morsb. § 96 anm. 2, 1; — *eljərs* 'elders' (of a church); — *fēdr* 'feather'; — *fēf* 'fetch'; — *flec* 'flea' OE. *flē(a)h*, *flēze* C (the *e* not standing before *ht* etc., but simple *h*, was not changed to *i*, see § 48 c 2); — *kēn* 'know' Scand. *kenna* Bj. 245; — *kētl* 'kettle'; — *mēn* 'men'; — *rēd* 'clear out' OE. *hreddan*; — *seg* 'sedge'; — *sēl* 'sell'; — *sēn* 'send'; — *skēlf* 'shelf' Scand. \**skelfr* Kluge-Lutz; — *smedm* 'shrewdness', intelligence OE. *smedma*; — *spēn* 'spend'.

§ 87. Palatal diphthongisation (Bülbr. § 155), with subsequent »palatal-umlaut« (ib. § 314) is found in — *jēt* 'gate'; see Cornelius p. 64; 143.

§ 88. MSc. *e* has become *a* after and before *w*; an intervening *r* or *l* does not prevent this change:

a) after *w*:

*swalə* 'to swallow'; — *twal* 'twelve'; — (v)*rastl* 'wrestle'; — (v)*ratf* 'wretch'; — *wad* 'wed'; — *wadz* 'wedge'; — *wadr* 'weather'; — *wark* 'work' sb. Northumbrian *werc* Bülbr. § 193; — *warst* 'worst' Scand. *verstr*; — *wat* 'wet' + *wit* see § 102. 2, OE. *wētnise* C, with early shortening, probably in compounds; — *wast* 'west'.

Note 1. In the following words, *a* may be due to unrounding of MSc. *o*, see § 64 and 65:

*fan* 'when' OE. *hwonne* C, or *hwænne* C Bülbr. § 278; — *dwal* 'dwell' OE. *gedwælla* C, this and the two following words might have had MSc. *o* according to § 65; — *wab* 'web' cf. OE. *wæfa* C; — *wal* 'well' sb. OE. *wælla* C.

Note 2. *waxt* 'weight' Scand. *veht*, Bülbring, Angl. Bhl. IX, 74, + *wæct* in this word the following palatal has prevented the retraction of the vowel; cf. Mod. Engl. *wæks* 'wax' Horn, Hist. neuengl. Gramm. § 51.

b) Before *w*:

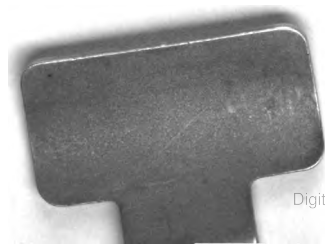
*fala* 'felloe', + *fqla* (see § 64 note, s. v. — *fqla* 'follow'); — *jala* 'yellow'.

§ 89. The *a* arising out of MSc. *e* after *w* has become lengthened when stressed:

*far* 'where' OE. *hwær* C; — *war* 'worse' Scand. *verri* Bj. 225; — *awa* 'away' OE. *aweg* C, the *g* being final was pronounced *h*, Bülbr. § 489, \**aweh* lost its *h* (*x*), according to § 210.

MSc. *e* of French origin.

§ 90. *ægẏempl* 'example', not one of the oldest Norman-Fr. loan-words with the OFr. *e* before nasals preserved, but probably influenced by Lat. *exemplum*; — *vesl*, — *wesl* 'cow's udder', »vessel« (— *wasl* 'a children's game', DD. s. v. *wastel*, is most likely to be the same word with change of *we* into *wa* see § 88 a, § 202); — *dẏinlmæn* 'gentleman', exhibits the change of *e* into *i* after *dẏ*, in this word only recently borrowed from stand. Engl.



## Lebenslauf.

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Ich, Heinrich Mutschmann, dem katholischen Bekenntnisse zugezählt, wurde geboren am 18. Februar 1885 zu Essen an der Ruhr, in Rheinpreussen, als Sohn des Taubstummenlehrers Ernst August M., und seiner Gattin Apollonia, geb. Duell. Zu Ostern 1904 verliess ich nach neunjährigem Besuche die Ober-Realschule meiner Vaterstadt. Mit dem Reifezeugnis (9. 3.) versehen, bezog ich im Herbst desselben Jahres die Universität Bonn, um mich dem Studium der germanischen und romanischen Philologie, sowie der Philosophie zu widmen. Nachdem ich dort zwei Semester verbracht hatte, begab ich mich im September 1905 nach England, wo ich während der folgenden „Session“ (1905—06) als Student die Universität Liverpool besuchte. Hier beschäftigte ich mich besonders mit germanischer und englischer Philologie, mit englischer Literatur, Alt-Isländisch und Phonetik. Nachdem ich einen Monat in Cumberland zugebracht hatte, hielt ich mich einige Zeit in London auf, um im „Britischen Museum“ vor allem die Werke der neuenglischen Grammatiker zu studieren. Nach Deutschland zurückgekehrt, wurde ich im Wintersemester 1906 in Göttingen immatrikuliert, ging dann wieder nach Bonn zurück, um an der Universität meiner Heimatprovinz meine Studien zu beenden. Im Frühjahr 1907 (30. 4.) bestand ich in Koblenz die Ergänzungsprüfung, wodurch ich in den Besitz des Zeugnisses eines Realgymnasiums gelangte. Im Spätsommer desselben Jahres suchte ich abermals Gross-Britanien auf, um im „Britischen Museum“ zu London, im „Athenæum“ zu Liverpool und in der „Mitchell Library“ zu Glasgow Manuskripte und seltene Drucke zu studieren und teilweise abzuschreiben. Hauptsächlich aber galt meine Reise dem Studium der schottischen Dialekte, die ich an Ort und Stelle kennen zu lernen suchte.

Das Doktorexamen bestand ich am 22. Juli 1908, und zwar in den Fächern: englische und deutsche Philologie und Philosophie.

Meine akademischen Lehrer waren:

Elton, Sephton, Wyld — in Liverpool;

Morsbach, G. E. Müller, Edw. Schröder, Stimming, Weissenfels — in Göttingen;

Bülbring, P. Clemen, Drescher, Erdmann, Foerster, Franck, Gaufinez, Litzmann, Loeschcke, Schultz, Sell, Solmsen, Trautmann, Wilmanns — in Bonn.

Ich war während mehrerer Semester Mitglied des englischen, germanistischen und psychologischen Seminars in Bonn.

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